

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 00027 040144Z

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DEPT PASS SECRETARY

FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE

DEPT PLEASE REPEAT TO: ABIDJAN, LIBREVILLE, KINSHASA, YAOUNDE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, SG, US

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SECK ON ANGOLA

1. IN JAN. 3 MEETING WITH SENEGALESE FORNMIN SECK, IMMEDIATELY AFTER MEETING WITH SENGHOR, ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE TRACED HISTORY OF USSR INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA, POINTING OUT CUBAN ROLE AND DESCRIBING US EFFORTS TO HELP MAINTAIN SITUATION ON GROUND LEADING TO NEGOTIATIONS. HE NOTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD COME INTO PICTURE IN REACTION TO WHAT IT PERCEIVED AS SOVIET/CUBAN MEANCE. NO CONSULTATION WITH US HAD BEEN ENTERED INTO BY SOUTH AFRICANS BEFORE MAKING STEP. IT WAS WORTH NOTING THAT SOUTH AFRICA APPARENTLY COULD LIVE WITH REGIME IN MOZAMBIQUE BUT FELT OBLIGED TO TAKE STEPS WHEN CONFRONTED WITH SOVIET THRUST. SCHAUFLE SAID DOMESTIC DEBATE SHOWED THAT SOUTH AFRICANS, HOWEVER, WERE CLEARLY NOT COMFORTABLE WITH ANGOLAN INVOLVEMENT. US WAS READY TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHDRAW FROM ANGOLA IN CONTEXT OF WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OUTSIDE FORCES, AND WE BELIEVED WE COULD BE SUCCESSFUL IF OTHER FORCES WERE REMOVED.

2. SCHAUFLE STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF ADDIS MEETING FROM US POINT OF VIEW, AND UNDERLINED US SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN SOLUTION. IF GOVERN-
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SECRET

PAGE 02 DAKAR 00027 040144Z

MENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WERE ESTABLISHED, US WOULD BE WILLING TO

HELP, ALONG WITH OTHERS, TO MEET IMMEDIATE RELIEF NEEDS IN ANGOLA. SEVERAL IDEAS FOR OAU ACTION HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED, SCHAUFLELE SAID, ELEMENTS OF WHICH INCLUDED: (1) CEASEFIRE; (2) CESSATION OF ARMS SHIPMENTS AND REINFORCEMENT OF MILITARY AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL; (3) OAU MEDIATION TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS; AND (4) WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN INTERFERENCE. SCHAUFLELE SAID ZAMBIA HAD PLAN WHICH WAS BEING DISCUSSED RATHER WIDELY, BUT THERE WERE OTHER PROPOSALS AS WELL. US DESIRED THAT THREE PARTIES IN ANGOLA FORM GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THAT--IF IT DEVELOPED IN ANGOLAN FRAMEWORK--WOULD NOT CONCERN US AS LONG AS IT NOT BASED ON FOREIGN INTERVENTION. WHILE HE HAD VISITED FIVE AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE WHO HAD SPOKEN OUT FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO ANGOLAN SITUATION, SCHAUFLELE SAID US WAS ALSO IN CONTACT WITH OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS. ZAMBIA WAS ESSENTIALLY IN AGREEMENT WITH EFFORTS TO FOSTER NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND IT HAD APPARENTLY WORKED OUT ACCORD WITH TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE. NIGERIA AND GHANA, WHILE RECOGNIZING MPLA, HAD NOT RULED OUT NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. SCHAUFLELE SAID US PLANNED TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH THOSE STATES. PROBLEM NOW WAS THAT MPLA REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE. SIMPLE APPEAL TO NEGOTIATION BY OAU WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH; SOME OAU MECHANISM WAS REQUIRED WHICH COULD FORCE SITUATION.

3. SCHAUFLELE TOLD SECK US WOULD CONTINUE TO RESIST SOVIET THRUST. IN SPITE OF SENATE ACTION, US HAD RESOURCES AND WAS RESOLVED TO PLAY ROLE WE FOUND NECESSARY TO PROMOTE NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE US HAD NO SPECIAL INTERESTS IN ANGOLA, WE ARE WORLD POWER AND HAVE GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH WE MUST TAKE SERIOUSLY. WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH SOVIETS IN SPIRIT OF DETENTE IN EFFORT TO DETERMINE RULES OF GAME. IN 1972 US AND USSR SIGNED ACCORD UNDER WHICH WE AGREED NOT TO EXPLOIT SITUATIONS FOR UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. ACTIONS OF SOVIET UNION IN ANGOLA WERE NOT IN KEEPING WITH THIS ACCORD. IN SITUATIONS SUCH AS THESE WHERE SOVIET UNION TRIES TO CHANGE EXISTING EQUILIBRIUM, US COULD NOT REST INDIFFERENT.

4. FORNMIN SECK SAID GOS HAD FOLLOWED SCHAUFLELE VISIT CAREFULLY AND HAD GIVEN IT CONSIDERABLE MEDIA COVERAGE. ANGOLAN PROBLEM WAS ONE WHERE US AND GOS HAD VERY SIMILAR POSITIONS AND WERE JOINED IN INTEREST OF PEACEFUL SOLUTION. SENEGAL'S VIEW, SECK SAID, WAS THAT IT

SECRET

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PAGE 03 DAKAR 00027 040144Z

COULD NOT ADMIT FOREIGN INTERVENTION. IF AFRICA COULD NOT HANDLE SITUATION, UN SHOULD SEIZE PROBLEM AND ASSURE FREE CHOICE FOR ANGOLANS. SECK AGREED WITH SCHAUFLELE THAT ANRVLA WAS MOST SERIOUS AFRICAN PROBLEM SINCE CONGO CRISIS AND WITH IT FUTURE OF OAU WAS AT STAKE. HE FELT ADDIS MEETING WOULD BE DIFFICULT BUT HOPED THAT GRAVITY OF ANGOLAN QUESTION MIGHT BRING WISDOM TO OAU COUNCILS, AND LEAD REPRESENTATIVES TO REDUCE PREACHING AND REACH CONSENSUS. IT WAS

CLEAR THAT AFRICA HAD NO REAL FORCE IN FACE OF GREAT POWERS.
THIS WAS ANOTHER REASON, SECK FELT, WHY OAU SHOULD NOT BE ESTROYED.

5. GOS HAD SEEN ZAMBIAN PROPOSAL AND SECK FELT SENEGALESE WOULD
SUPPORT IT IF IT WERE ADVANCED OPENLY AT ADDIS. SECK BELIEVED
NIGERIA SUPPORTED MPLA AS MUCH FOR DOMESTIC AS FOR INTERNATIONAL
REASONS. NEW LAGOS REGIME WAS HEAVILY WEIGHTED WITH NORTHERN
CONSERVATIVES WHO FELT NEED TO STRIKE PROGRESSIVE IMAGE. SECK
EXPECTED VERBAL OFFENSIVE FROM NIGERIA, WHICH WOULD GIVE AID AND
COMFORT TO AFRICA'S TRADITIONAL EXTREMISTS, ALGERIA AND GUINEA.
HOWEVER, SENEGAL KNEW PRECISELY WHAT IT WANTED AND NO ONE WOULD
WREST ITS POSITION AWAY. EITHER OAU WOULD REACH COMPROMISE ON
ANGOLAN QUESTION, OR ORGANIZATION WOULD BE FACED WITH MAJOR INTERNAL
CONFRONTATION. SENEGAL HOPED LIKE-MINDED AFRICAN STATES WOULD
FIGHT AS HARD AS SENEGAL IS PREPARED TO FIGHT.
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